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VOL. XXIX, NO. I

MAY 1956

To celebrate the 21st Birthday of
The Geographical Magazine
the Editor has written the whole
of this Special Number, devoted to
the primary theme of Geography:
“People in Places”

*Cover: A Student from Hong Kong
talking to a Pensioner in the grounds of
the Royal Hospital, Chelsea*

Kodachrome by Terence Wilson

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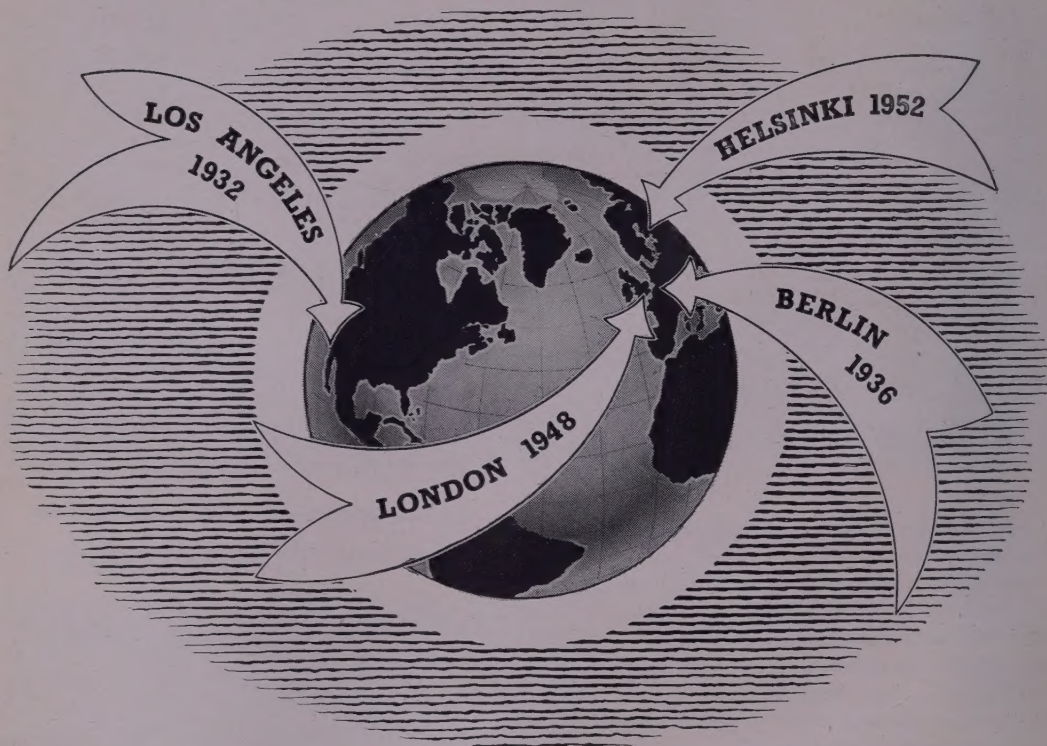
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Ektachrome by courtesy of Bord Fáilte Éireann
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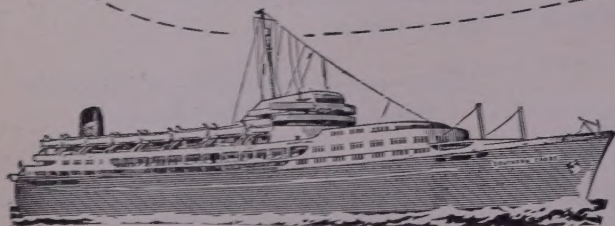
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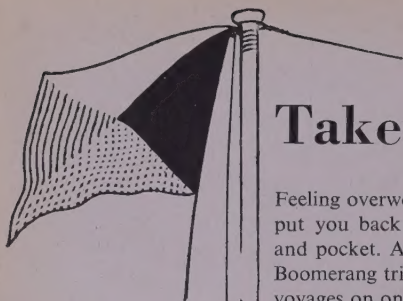
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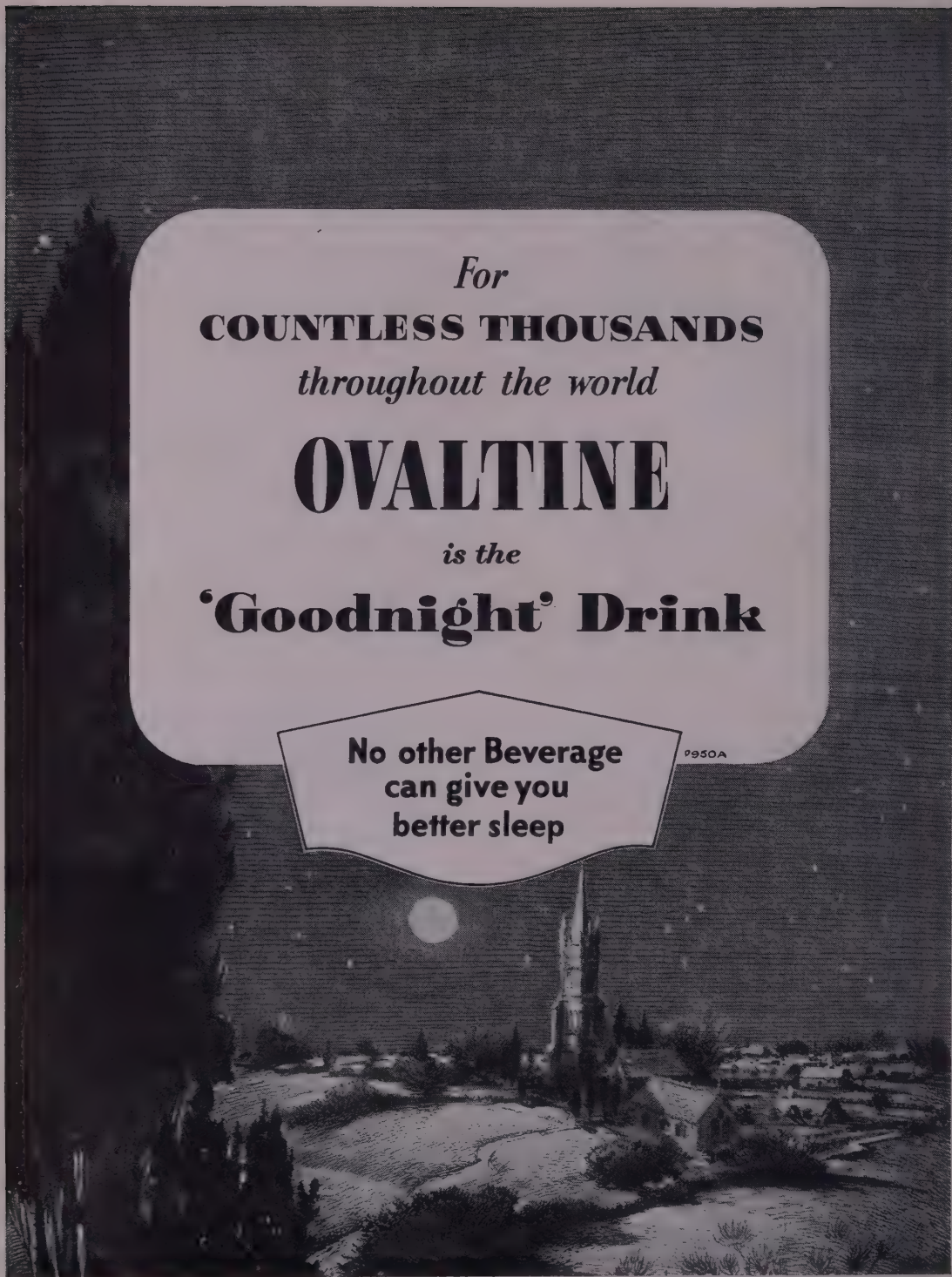
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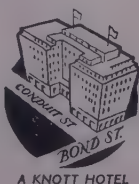
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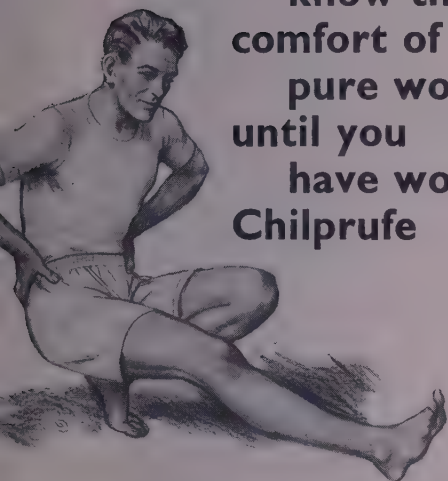
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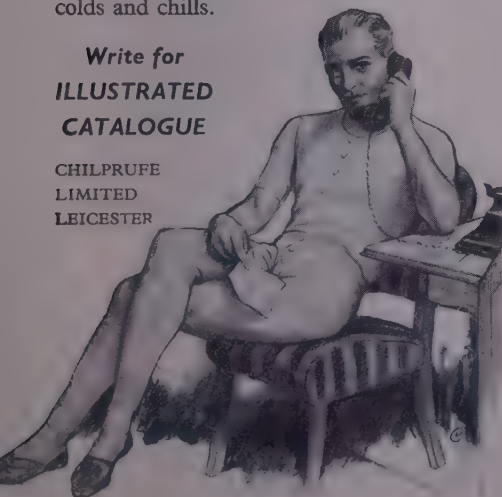
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*The monthly travel article has been
held over owing to lack of space*

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as a dragonfly. Now you shall see why
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King in New York . . .



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*You're late-ish, you know. But so was I.
Come in and celebrate.*

With? . . .

*Oh please, anything you like! I shall
choose Martini. And not such a very
small glass, either.*

Straight Martini? Perfect!

*Now I'm beginning to take to you.
Sweet? With ice? Good. You know,
that's how we serve it in Italy . . .*

We?

*Of course! In Rome . . . when I'm
feeling more Irish than usual. In
America . . . when I'm feeling Italian.
In England . . . when I'm feeling
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Editor *Michael Huxley* Executive Editor *Selwyn Powell* Art Editor *Derek Weber*

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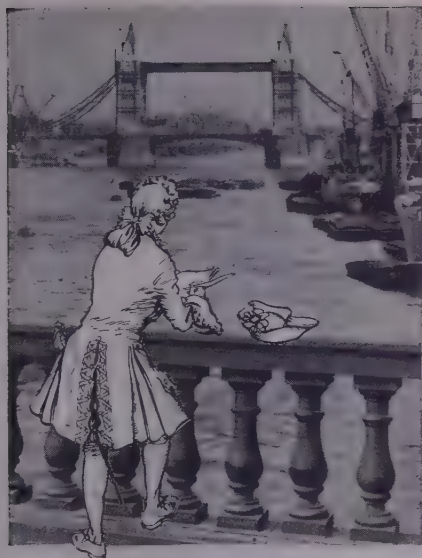
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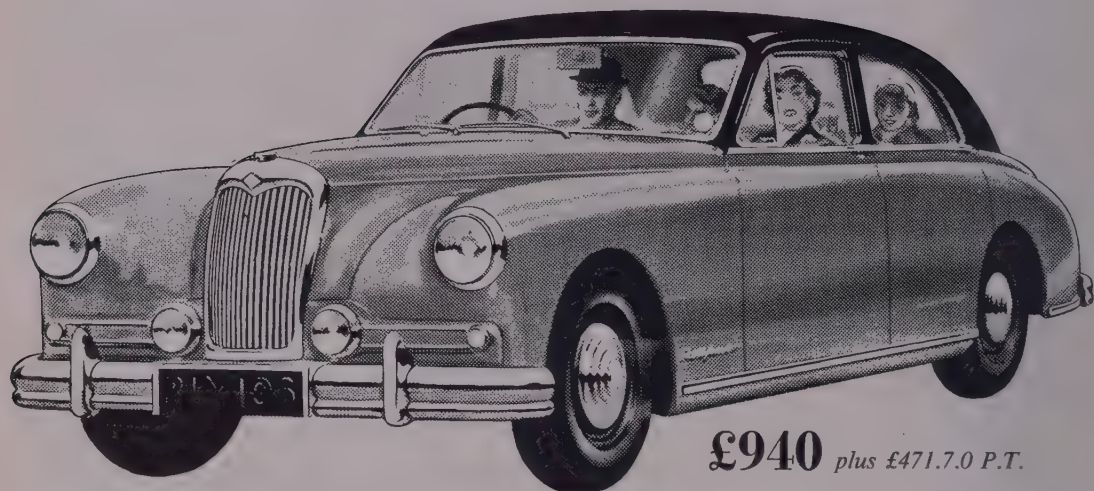
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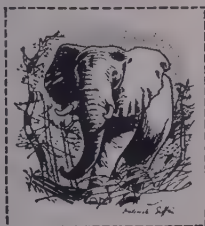
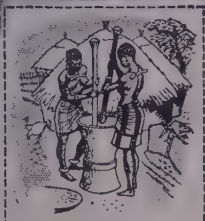
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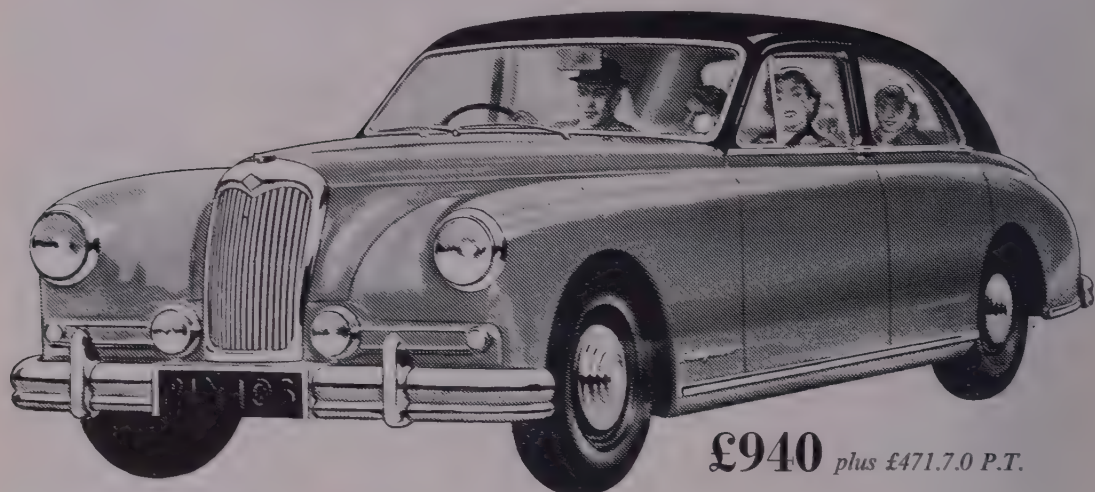
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People in Places

For twenty-one years (with an interruption from 1939 to 1945) I have been privileged to edit The Geographical Magazine. The privilege has consisted, above all, in the opportunities that I have had of meeting or corresponding with men and women who have observed human diversity in every land under the sun. It is their experience, not my own, which I have summed up to mark our 21st birthday in a pictorial 'gallop round the globe'

MICHAEL HUXLEY



Anscocolor

J. Allan Cash

On special occasions, such as Christmas, a Church Parade is held in the Tower of London. The Yeomen Warders, wearing the full-dress uniform of the Yeomen of the Guard, line up for inspection

LET us begin where all voyages of exploration begin—at home. We look around us in these islands and, rolling stones though most of us are and almost all our ancestors were, we see a prodigious amount of moss. Comfortable stuff, moss. In the Tower of London the Yeomen in their dress uniforms are being inspected—as they have been how many thousand times?—in preparation for one of those ancient ceremonies which, even if we have never seen them, give us a sense of security by their ritual performance. As we proceed on our journey we shall find that other people attach just the same value to ceremonies of their own; and the ability to rejoice with them, to appreciate and acclaim their difference from ourselves, is as great a gift as any that we can attain through the study of Geography, the chief concern of which is “the interaction between man in society and so much of his environment as varies locally.”

Moving northward through busy Britain we may land with profit in the Orkneys and there find fellow-citizens who have made the most of grand but grim surroundings. Their successful agriculture is highly mechanized; they export innumerable eggs; and they also

export men whose worth the Hudson's Bay Company, for example, well knows. What is their secret? Response to a challenge? Race? The Orkneymen whose “interaction with their environment” we admire are of predominantly Scandinavian stock, being descended from the Vikings, of all our ancestral rolling stones the most adventurous rollers. They and other Northmen of their kin discovered America, set their mark on the earliest Russia, stood guard over the Imperial palaces at Constantinople (“Micklegarth”, the Great City), founded kingdoms in Normandy and Sicily. For centuries before the Norman conquest England was ruled in part by men who came from the Northlands in their long ships.

These we should remember when we reverse that journey and find ourselves watching the long boats as they row to Leksand in Sweden for the midsummer festival, with men, women and children in gay attire; or when we arrive at Bornholm in the Baltic, where the islanders have long maintained their loyalty to Denmark in face of Swedish and German influences and even, recently, a Russian occupation. Their loyalty springs from



John Gosse

Ektachrome

(Above) Viking sea-rovers peopled the Orkneys and their descendants flourish amid treeless, wind-swept surroundings that would daunt less stout-hearted folk. Their poor-looking crofts produce (below) some 65,000,000 eggs a year—enough to supply the 300,000 inhabitants of Nottingham

John Gosse

Kodachrome



*Kodakchrome**J. Allan Cash*

The Scandinavian countries maintain festivals dating from Viking times : one such is the Midsummer Festival, celebrated with particular fervour at Leksand in Sweden, to which villagers from the shores of Lake Siljan row, clad in traditional costume, for church services and maypole dancing



James Jones

Stockholm

Above: The men of Bornholm in the Baltic have always cherished their Danish nationality and upheld it against numerous foreign occupations. Below: Schaffhausen on the Rhine, like other Swiss cities, paid the price of liberty 400 years ago with costly fortifications

Amsterdam





Dutchmen, more recently, paid a yet higher price. In 1945 the retreating Germans planned to blow up the Rhine bridge at Nijmegen: it was saved at the cost of his life by a young member of the Dutch Resistance who disconnected the charges placed on it and enabled the Allied troops to cross

the same spiritual need that led the Swiss burghers to build in defence of their liberty such castle walls as those of Schaffhausen and the men of the Dutch Resistance to give their lives at the bridge of Nijmegen (both, incidentally, refuting the claim that the Rhine, which begins in Switzerland and ends in Holland, is a German river). Many people of goodwill, especially in North America, are puzzled by this passionate desire of Europeans to express the spirit of their several communities, however small, and to make their peculiar contribution to the world's life. 'Nationalism' is the convenient label; and it is usually condemned. Of all the ideas that originated in Europe, however, it has proved one of the most infectious and is still spreading. Should we regret and try to suppress it: or should we regard it as a healthy and desirable manifestation of human diversity? Economic and military developments may

make small nation-states an anachronism. Benelux and NATO may be the response to modern needs; but the proper pride of a small people remains a beneficent force. At this scale nationalism is essentially a protest against the vast impersonal powers of our time and their concentration in ever fewer hands: and though in some cases environment has clearly been a factor favouring its growth, in many others a geographical basis for nationalism seems strangely lacking.

Belgium, for example, may appear from this standpoint a highly artificial construction, recognized by international treaty in 1831, with no 'natural frontiers', two very different languages and the second most densely populated territory in Europe. Yet it has survived two World Wars, has undertaken great responsibilities in Africa with marked success, and has found in the historic past of the Low Countries, with their long



AP Wirephoto

The Belgian tradition is exemplified by above the Gilles of Binche, whose carnival costume derives from a 16th-century dynastic link between the Low Countries and the Hapsburg dominions in South America.

Below: The annual festival at Salzburg in Austria, Mozart's birthplace, is built around his operas

AP Wirephoto





(Above) *The Germans without Hitler have displayed some of their best qualities—thoroughness, energy, courage—in their remarkable economic revival, which the yearly Industrial Fair at Hannover illustrates.*
(Below) *Italy without Mussolini plans and builds model housing estates for her ever-growing population.*



record of achievement in commerce and the arts, the material for a worthy Belgian tradition. Much of that past lay under the rule of the Hapsburg Monarchy, centred in Vienna and in Austria, now emerging from ten years of alien occupation. All that remains of the territories once under Austrian control, between the North Sea and the Adriatic, is a country with a smaller population than Belgium. Nationalism broke up the rest. But it would be rash indeed to assume that the little Austria of the present and future is less capable than the old Empire of producing a Haydn, a Mozart or a Strauss.

In the long run, these are the contributions to the life of mankind for which posterity is

most grateful. The wielders of military, administrative and economic power can do little more than provide a background for creative activity; and since they are men, the greater their power the greater the risk of their misusing it in order to enforce the conformity which kills the creative spirit. Three great European countries—France, Germany and Italy—have carried the concentration of power to its limit. Who regrets the fall of Napoleon, Hitler or Mussolini? Nevertheless, the problem of power is still there and its exercise on a large scale is necessary if men are to benefit from many scientific and technical discoveries which can ease their material burdens. Between the nation-states of West-

Frenchmen, as well as others, deplore the weakness of French parliamentary democracy: it has not prevented them from organizing the economic power necessary to complete such vast works as the dam at Génissiat on the Rhône—one of a series of hydro-electric barrages built since World War II

By courtesy of the French Government Tourist Office





color

Richard Dormer, from Toni Murr

St Tropez on the Riviera has a Patron Saint, a 1st-century Roman martyr, whose annual festival commemorates victory in "battles long ago" which his aid enabled the Tropezian forefathers to win

ern Europe economic (as well as military) power is being cautiously integrated; the Coal and Steel Community points the way to a working balance between the small loyalty and the large necessity.

Meanwhile the small loyalty is reinforced by traditional ceremonies like those of which we have already noticed two, in London and Leksand. Here is another, an annual celebration affirming the belief of the people of St Tropez, a fishing port on the French Riviera, that their Patron Saint gave their ancestors the strength to repel the attack of twenty-two Spanish galleons. This is the Tropezian heritage. We all feel the need to assert that we have inherited "titles manifold"; so we

attach the names of mighty men to mountains. A hero of the 8th-century struggle against the Arabs in the Pyrenees is recalled by the Brèche de Roland, which he is said to have cloven with one blow of his sword. A shrine and a pilgrimage is yet another way to strike roots into our surroundings. Spain has some notable examples: the shrine of the Virgin of the Dew in Andalusia brings every year processions of local 'brotherhoods' from thirty miles around. Most powerful, perhaps, of all means to unite place and people is the local dialect, which becomes a 'language' at some point of enlargement in the number of those who speak it; but begins at the same point to lose its hold on the soil. No-one



F. Spencer Chapman

*"Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us."
What more flattering memorial than a mountain? So may legend
declare that the Brèche de Roland in the Central Pyrenees—
fifty feet wide, with walls 300 feet high—was cleft during
the battle of Roncesvalles by a single stroke of Roland's sword*



achrome

Hugh Gibb

(Above) A romería in Spain and Portugal is a sort of picnic at a favourite shrine, focussing both religious and local loyalty. Here one of many 'brotherhoods' leaves Seville on such a pilgrimage.

achrome

George Fabri



knows exactly where Maltese originated; but such words as *dghajsa*, plural *dghajjes*, for those charming boats that throng Valletta harbour, must play an important part in giving Malta's 300,000 inhabitants their stalwart independence of outlook.

When we slip from the Mediterranean behind the Iron Curtain we find a rather different emphasis on the identity of people and place. Dams and other useful communal works are the symbols of confident achievement. But dams are named, towns and mountains renamed, after revolutionary leaders; and the pilgrimage to the tombs of Lenin and Stalin is endless. . . . So, with the admission that humanity feels the same needs everywhere, we may note once more the significance of scale as we glance back at Greece, whose people in the days of their ancient poli-

tical independence were never capable of managing anything bigger than a city-state, yet reached then their highest level of achievement, the influence of which has spread so incalculably far; or forward to the Soviet Union, where the gigantic machine of central control is still bringing enough material benefits to its many formerly backward peoples to make them forget, or temporarily accept, the price that has to be paid. One Communist country has already decided that while subordination to the Soviet Union is not essential to its material well-being, loyalty to the Yugoslav nation and land is the first duty of all its sons. Doubtless Poland and Czechoslovakia, if they could sever the chain that is round them now, would do so; but part of their difficulty is the fear of exchanging a Russian for an American protector who might support German claims

Girl students from universities working on the site of a dam in Bulgaria named after Alexander Stambulisky, Prime Minister and leader of the Agrarian (Peasants') Union, assassinated in 1923





S. R.

The Greeks before Alexander's time were only loyal to their city or at most to a temporary league of cities; yet the Athenians built, in the Acropolis, perhaps the most famous of all city-centres

on what is now their territory. Moreover, Polish and Czech industries, especially the former, have been greatly stimulated by the present regimes and are enjoying the freedom of large Eastern markets in which they have few competitors. So the problem of resurgent nationalism among the 'satellite' and subject peoples is one which the rulers of the Soviet Union may not have to consider very urgently just yet.

In Russia itself the level of industrial activity is directly connected with the scale of its home market, in which no foreign competition is allowed. American industry also is geared to the certainty of supplying a vast home demand: the material standard of living

of the 160,000,000 American consumers is so incomparably high that great quantities of foreign goods are allowed access to the American market; though the protective pressure of industrial interests makes itself felt whenever foreign competition becomes seriously effective. This seems to be more a matter of habit than of necessity, since the productive skill of American industry and agriculture is equal to meeting any competition. In the United States, for instance, only about 14 per cent of the population are farmers, as compared with about 60 per cent in Russia; yet that 14 per cent grows more than the whole population can eat. Foreigners often speak enviously of the immense natural resources of the United



Yugoslav Photo Agency

Communism commands great economic and military power but not always local loyalties. Yugoslav sailors (above) fought in the past for Venice and Austria: they will fight henceforth for Yugoslavia. (Below) Warsaw has been rebuilt under the Soviet wing. Will Poland continue to serve her protector?

By courtesy of the Polish Cultural Institute

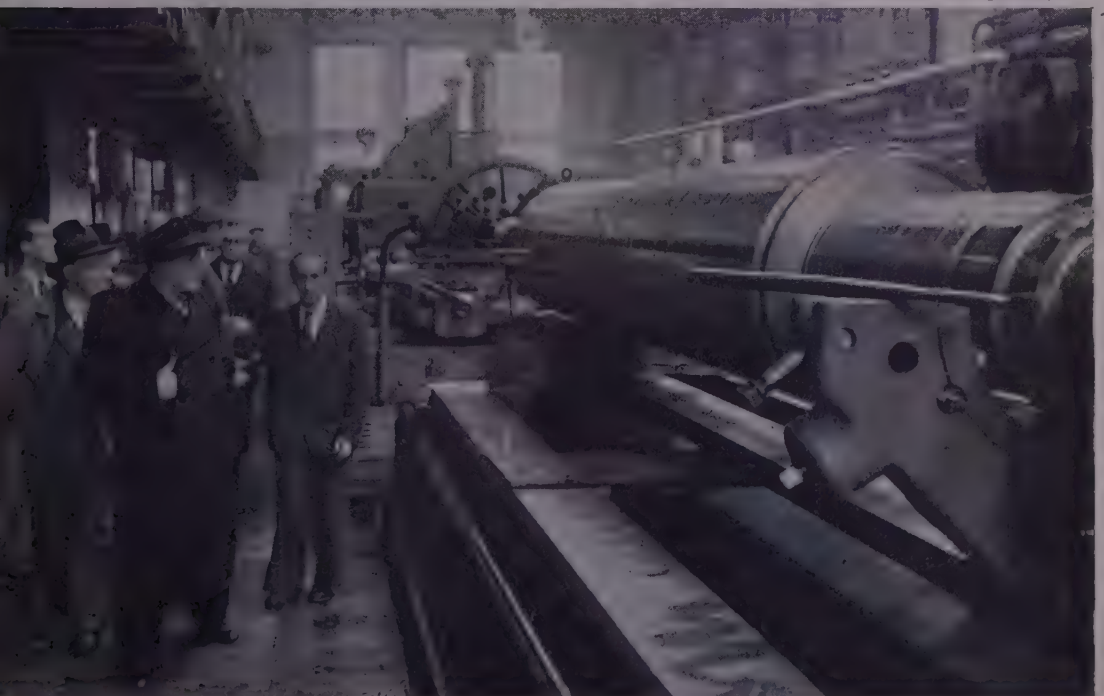




From F. J. Erroll, M.P.

Production in the Soviet Union is geared to priorities determined by the state. Carrot and stick, as in all economic systems, ensure their fulfilment: (above) both are symbolized by the target and output board at a tractor-works. (Below) Heavy electrical generating equipment has high priority

From F. J. Erroll, M.P.





courtesy of the U.S.I.S.

States; they forget the unsparing effort by which these are exploited. It is an effort that benefits every American, including the formerly submerged tenth which is of Negro blood.

The American melting-pot, compounded of various agencies of which the school comes first, melts with the greatest efficiency. Indeed, it is startling to observe how vigorously the second generation of immigrants repudiates the Old Country and all its works. Can-

ada, by contrast, has a very gentle melting-pot and this is to be expected, seeing that the French-Canadians had been there for 150 years or more before the end of the American Revolution brought Canada's first big influx of English-speaking people: the Loyalist Americans forced by mob tyranny to leave their own country. The privileges which the French-Canadians then held have not been extended to any other 'national' minority—for example, to Canada's 400,000 Ukrain-

(Opposite) Consumer demand, acting through innumerable channels of private commerce, determines the priorities of production in the United States. Advertising, sales pressure and the system of hire-purchase influence it; but in the end the consumer dictates. For example, after World War II the discharge of thousands of American servicemen created a demand for appliances for their newly-established homes. Electric refrigerators attained high priority and—thanks to the carrot of full pay-packets and good profits and the stick of skilled management and competition, with behind them the final sanction of unemployment—were produced in assembly lines such as that shown, at the Frigidaire plant in Dayton, Ohio. (Right) The spirit of place—a rocky subsoil and a small, overcrowded island—made New York the original city of skyscrapers: “a turreted cluster of ambitions in one monolithic architectural chord”





Camera Press



Camera Press

(Opposite) The American farmer has learnt by trial and error how to treat soils and climates varying from the flat, fertile land of the Great Plains, ideal for mechanized farming, to the hot, fruit-growing valleys of California, a State in which the average annual rainfall ranges from 2 to over 100 inches.

(Right) The products of American industry and agriculture are distributed and nationally advertised throughout a vast single free-trade area. They thus create a common standard of living for all Americans whatever their race, creed or colour.

(Below) In Canada, too, economic influences warm up the 'melting-pot', though there assimilation is more gradual. It leaves plenty of room for local pride; shared, for instance, by Indians who contribute to the gaiety of a Trappers' Festival at The Pas in northern Manitoba



Koda - 1952

Camera Press



C. R. Stanton



John C. Grady

Kodachrome

Peterhead cutters—decked vessels about 40 feet long, with petrol engine and auxiliary sail—are owned by the more prosperous Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic and used for seal and walrus hunting

ians; but by merely continuing to exist and flourish French Canada has discouraged the enforcement of uniformity and distance has fostered local variety. For while Canada is larger than the United States, Canada's population inhabits a comparatively narrow zone close to its 4000-mile southern frontier.

At present unity rather than diversity is the keynote of American social life; a natural tendency when so many Americans are still the children of immigrants and their internal movement is still so restless. Here, one might suppose, the small loyalties have no *raison d'être*. But with the passing years the underlying geographical divisions of North America are beginning to assert themselves; and the regional pride that distinguishes a New Englander from a Southerner or a Californian may yet prove a substitute for the old States'

Rights in combating concentrated Federal power. Loyalties of a more local kind exist in abundance and are even stronger in Canada where centres of population are separated by such great distances and French Canada sets the tone. Even the most remote provincial may consider himself, like St Paul, to be "a citizen of no mean city"; an annual trappers' festival in northern Manitoba may have for local people a significance as great as that of the celebrations which we have observed in Sweden, France or Spain.

The Indians and Eskimos who so thinly represent an indigenous population in North America were also originally immigrants—but from Asia, not Europe. They have contributed little to the ties that bind the children of more recent immigrants to their 'native' soil. The primitive Indian and Eskimo way

of life was closely related to its environment, but at a level of technique too widely separated from that of the newcomers to affect theirs. Further south, however, among the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas, Indian civilization had reached a much higher technical level; and the Indians were far more numerous. Moreover, the Roman Catholic Church brought to Spanish and Portuguese America much greater zeal for saving the souls of Indians than did the English-speaking Protestant Churches. So a marriage of cultures took place; and with the exception of Argentina and Uruguay the Indian element in the population is important in all the seventeen nation-states of Latin America. Even more important for the future is the *mestizo*,

of mixed blood, expressing in his person the new societies sprung from the variety of the new lands. For, as Salvador de Madariaga has said, "the Spaniards explored and conquered the most difficult, mountainous, broken, in fact, *varied*, part of the New World. Differences of land and people had been the basis of the plurality and variety of 'the Spains'; and the same causes led to similar results in 'the Indies'."

In the Antilles and Brazil yet another element became important: the Negro. Our generation is seeing the birth of a new Federation in those West Indies which the centuries have brought together under British sovereignty; and its population is predominantly Negro. In the coastal cities of Brazil, as per-

Rodney Gallop

In most of the American countries conquered by the Spaniards there already existed 'Indian' civilizations with which, while subordinating them, the conquerors had to come to terms. The result was a marriage of cultures for which the Roman Catholic Church was largely responsible. It extended its influence to regions where the civil and even military sway of the Spaniards was never more than nominal and absorbed many practices and ceremonies that were locally observed before the Conquest. It also gave to nearly all Latin-American countries a magnificent heritage of church architecture





Martin Chambi



(Above) Inca terracing in Peru. Not only did the Incas, throughout their enormous empire, thus protect the soil of mountainous districts against erosion: they knew the value of manure, making great use of guano deposited by seabirds on the coastal islands and bringing it on the backs of llamas to renew the fertility of terraces 10,000 feet above sea-level where the potato was the staple crop. (Left) Oil-drillers in Ecuador. The Incaic welfare state failed to encourage initiative among its subjects and the Indians of the high Andes remain passively unambitious today: the future there, as in many Latin-American countries, lies with the more vivacious and enterprising mestizo, the product of a mixture of Indian, Spanish and other blood



Leonti Planskoy

(Above) Carnival dancers in Rio. Brazil boasts that it has no colour-bar; and the assertion is roughly true. But in the old slave-labour belt of the east coast, the poorest people have the darkest skins. The inhabitants of the morros, Rio's hill-slums, are mainly Negroes. In them the Samba was born, a dance showing clearly its African jungle origin and accompanied by music in which, as in Africa, the melody is secondary to percussion and rhythm. (Right) West Indians make a plan. While Negro blood predominates in the West Indies, the East Indian element is important. In recent years local education for all races and colours has greatly improved and with it the bright prospects of the new British Caribbean Federation





Emil Brunner, from B.I.P.S.

In loaves and in garments this Lebanon street-scene shows a meeting of East and West: Lebanese nationalism unites a population that is wisely content to remain half Christian and half Moslem

haps nowhere else on earth, a mingling of racial stocks has abolished the 'colour problem'.

Here, on the eastern fringe of one great continent, we may take off for a 6000-mile flight to the western fringe of another, where many races were formerly united in the Ottoman Empire and the Moslem faith made no distinction among the faithful. Yet in what is now called the Middle East, also, the *genius loci* has prevailed. Nationalism in the Sultan's Asiatic dominions has given rise to half-a-dozen states, chief among them a Turkish Turkey, the rest mainly Arab and Moslem. One, however, is emphatically not. In the little State of Israel, without recognized frontiers and with few natural resources, are

crowded together 1,500,000 people who are proud to call themselves Jews, though their ancestry is amazingly diverse. From the earlier Zionist settlers they have received a legacy of Russian and German culture which may continue to endow the State of Israel with its present character as a chip of Europe inserted into the forehead of Asia; but it remains to be seen what character the *sabra*, the children born in the country, will draw from their ancient environment and perilous situation.

Only a few miles to the east begin the lands where, as in the days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, men wander with their flocks and herds, dwelling in tents, following the grass that springs up after seasonal rains or moving



Ektachrome

George Pickow, from *Three Lions*

(Above) Nationalism in Israel has created at Tel Aviv a modern European city on the borders of
(below) a world in which ancient ways of life are still man's typical response to his environment

Ektachrome

Professor G. Ryckmans





h. Ullens de Schooten

Kodachrome



(Above) Oil revenues are bringing the possibility of rapid change to many countries of the Middle East; Persia has plans which involve adopting a variety of Western techniques; but still the great nomadic tribes move by hundreds of thousands from lowland winter quarters to summer mountain pastures; and still (left) in the borderlands of the Hindu Kush tribal loyalty and the rifle are sometimes all the law there is



Ektachrome

Ian Ste

High valleys—at 9000 feet or so—in the Karakoram are flanked by peaks more than 20,000 feet high and men have made veritable oases, by expert terracing and irrigation, amid landscapes of soaring grandeur. Here are a village and its fields, poised above the gorge of the Hunza River, seen as a horizontal streak. The diagonal streak is the polo-ground; almost no village in Central Asia, the home of polo, lacks one



John Tyson

Ektachrom

"Himalayan Switzerlands . . . are perfectly possible"; and in the physical sense they already exist, though the techniques needed to bring their people to the Swiss level can be introduced but slowly

from lowland winter quarters to summer pastures in the mountains. This nomadic way of life has scarcely ever been understood by settled peoples, to whom it seems hard and poor, its practitioners wild and dangerous folk. Yet the nomads invariably regard themselves as enjoying the superiority of freedom over men slavishly tied to the soil; and there are many regions where no other way of life is so well adapted to the climatic conditions—some, indeed, where unless there were nomads, there would be nobody.

In greater or lesser degree nomadism persists all through the dry zone, seasonally and locally grassy, which extends from the Atlantic through the Sahara and the 'deserts' of Arabia far into Central Asia. The camel

is its typical, though not always essential, accompaniment. Alongside it is found, where rivers traverse the dry land or mountains shed water from melting snow, a way of life linked with irrigation. In Persia and the Western Himalayas this is the basic pattern, even if it may be concealed by a superstructure built with revenues derived from oil or from other sources. Any real aid for the people of these lands, enabling them to master their environment more effectively, must begin with the control of water: for irrigation in the plains and for hydro-electric power in the mountains. Pakistan has already made a most effective beginning, in this sense, with the Warsak, Malakand, Dargai, Thal and Rasul projects, designed to provide a liveli-

hood for many millions whom her improved health services will enable to survive; since no lasting good can come of saving children's lives by the wonders of modern medical science if they are to be denied the means of living when they grow up. Nor can small improvements in daily existence—a better tool here, a simple piece of domestic equipment there—be neglected as stages in the raising of local techniques to the level of more advanced countries. Himalayan Switzerlands and Swedens are perfectly possible, but they cannot be created in a hurry.

The importance of this—of technical improvement at the 'grass-roots level'—is even more evident when we descend to the great plains of India with their innumerable teeming villages. In drafting India's second five-year plan, her experts have recognized that the villagers will not take kindly to mechanization with a Western-style Industrial Revolution as its end-aim, leading inevitably to the removal of people from the land into the cities and factories. Large-scale industrialism may

appeal to urban economists and business men; the big machines may be needed to build irrigation and hydro-electric dams; but what the villager wants is small machines that can help to lighten the burdens of life as he is accustomed, and prefers, to live it: improved ploughs and seed-drills suitable to be drawn by bullocks; pump-sets for irrigation, operated by small petrol engines or by electricity; small electric stitching-machines for shoe-making; electric sewing-machines. . . . The shadow of Mahatma Gandhi looms large over rural India, of which he so well reflected the natural inclinations; and if its future development does not conform to his ideal of home-spun self-sufficiency, its real needs seem likely to impose their pattern upon both planners and politicians.

Such a pattern of change in the lives of India's peasant millions, successfully established, will have an influence extending far beyond the Indian frontiers. Many more millions in South-East Asia are being pressed to decide between the paths of development

Since 1947 Pakistan has completed half-a-dozen large hydro-electric and irrigation schemes, notably the Jinnah Barrage, key to the Thal land-reclamation project, which spans the River Indus

A.P.I.A.





Wooster Cowen

Urban India has already experienced many changes brought by a Western-style Industrial Revolution. Indian business men, at home on the Marine Drive in Bombay, would be equally at home in New York.



By courtesy of the U.S.I.S.

Indian villagers, however, are less receptive to industrialism and its products. In the countryside, 'improvements' are valued according to their effect in alleviating the burdens of daily life at the peasant's own level. (Above) Among those that are welcome is the work of health centres, which includes medical examination of children. (Right) Some kinds of machinery are recognized by country folk as bettering the lot of man: they include such simple agricultural implements as an American-designed seed-distributor, to be drawn by bullocks



By courtesy of the U.S.I.S.

recommended by rival guides. From Peking the Communists trumpet their beliefs and proclaim their methods. From Colombo comes a quieter message recommending that Plan of self-help, mutual help and help from overseas in which the British Commonwealth plays the leading part. From Washington come offers of grants-in-aid which are often, perhaps unjustly, regarded with suspicion as being subject to doubtful conditions. If India, one of the two greatest Asian countries, can set the example of building a better material life for the Asian peasant on his own small and humane scale, that may well prove the most basic achievement for peace of our century.

One of the smallest Asian countries, Ceylon, has acted as a pathfinder. There the Rural Development Movement, apparently the spontaneous manifestation of a new spirit in the land, has transformed the appearance and atmosphere of thousands of villages. Self-help and local pride are its keynotes, government aid being given in support of

local effort: the government will not help the villagers until they have first helped themselves.

Elsewhere in Asia the pattern has already been established on other lines. In Central Asia Russian influence is supreme; and in making the new omelette many of those eggs have been broken which according to Russian revolutionary tradition should be broken. Thus in Outer Mongolia thousands of lamas who formerly congregated in Buddhist monasteries have been set to work in the new factories; while the shrines of revolutionary leaders in Ulan Bator and those in Moscow are as alike as two peas. Among other slogans that of "the campaign against nomadism" has been proclaimed; but in practice this seems only to have been carried far enough to restrict the scale of nomadic wanderings within the limits of administrative control; and out of herds numbering 26,000,000 ninety per cent are still privately owned. The land that prescribed the ancient way of life has the last word in matters economic.

In Ceylon the Rural Development Movement has produced revolutionary changes in the villages without revolutionary strife. Concrete linings and walls for wells are an important health measure. The Ceylon government supplies the cement, but Rural Development Society members do the work

John Seymour





chrome

Ivor Montagu

Outer Mongolia underwent a long struggle to attain, with Russian protection, a measure of national independence. (Above) The mausoleum of the Mongol revolutionary leaders in Ulan Bator, the capital. (Below) Schoolgirls of the city: Western techniques and learning have come through Russian channels

chrome

Ivor Montagu



And in matters religious? The great lama-series have doubtless gone, with Lama-Buddhist teaching in Tibetan as the religious language; they were hindrances to the development of modern Mongol nationalism. What may be happening in Tibet itself, where Buddhism in that form developed, the outer world has little means of knowing. But the belief in reincarnation is too widespread and deep-rooted to disappear easily; and while it remains, so will the authority—however curtailed—of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, heads of the Tibetan hierarchy, both of whom are said to be living in Tibet under Chinese Communist suzerainty.

The Panchen Lama in 1948, at the age of eleven. Proclaimed when a baby as the tenth reincarnation he lived in strict seclusion, his only playmate being a small black Tibetan terrier, "Little Lion"

Ian Morrison

Anscoco





Hedra Morrison

A dagoba or Buddhist memorial in the Pei Hai, one of the former Imperial parks in Peking, seen through a green-tiled pailou or ornamental archway: each detail is symbolic, reinforcing the design

ing of more railways and roads, the distribution of electric power and light dependent on power stations constructed without the aid of foreign capital, the more extensive use by farmers of factory products dependent on railways and power. The cost of all this in individual liberty, according to an experienced Indian diplomatic observer, is often of a kind "that revolts the free mind."

The loss which China may have sustained is not something that the Western world can readily assess; all we can tell is what we may be in danger of losing—and that is precious.

A green-tiled archway in Peking may serve to remind us of the Chinese skill in ceramics to which we owe so much beauty and of the venerable Chinese conceptions of life and the universe that are embodied in Chinese art and architecture: for example, the harmony of contrasting principles, of *yin* and *yang*, which though opposite are complementary and dependent on each other, forming together the essential oneness and continuity of both the spiritual and the material world. China has endured many periods of anarchy and many of tyranny; the state of balance



It is just Japan's rapidly increasing reliance upon the traditional agricultural skills of her people. Still a part of her national consciousness though most of it is in Japan, in the valleys, reaching down to the very granular patterns, which are the heart of the nation. Japan's national heritage is being pulled



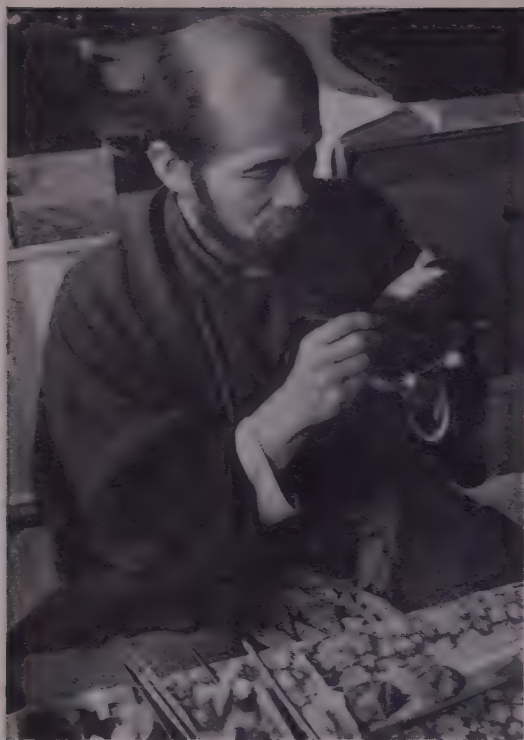
Western, especially American, influence have transformed the external appearance of the teeming cities of Japan: the theatre district of Osaka shows the architectural fantasies of Los Angeles.

the true harmony in which our political well-being is poised will yet return to her.

Japan hangs poised in a different balance, a geographical one: between the continent of Asia and the ocean out of which, in 1853, appeared the warships of Commodore Perry's American Pacific squadron, to end for ever her self-imposed isolation. Ruler-revolutionaries, not rising leaders of the bourgeoisie or proletariat, fastened industrialism on the Japanese people; and so effectively did they adopt Western techniques that in 1905 Japan defeated Russia on land and sea, while by 1945 Japanese rule extended south through Asia to the Equator. There is no machine of which Japanese brains, persistence and self-discipline will not take full advantage. But Japan has yet to find a way of making her great qualities tolerable to other people. The old seclusion might do so, but it is now impossible. Industrialisation has brought increasing numbers at such a rate that the population of about 75,000,000 in 1929 has become almost 90,000,000 today. The small feudal

loyalty, the traditional aristocratic culture from which sprang Japan's highest achievements in poetry, painting and the drama, is still dear to Japanese hearts, the large economic necessity makes inescapable demands for action—but to what end? Military power offers no solution, only a balance of mutual economic benefit with other peoples can do so. And to that solution they, too, must contribute.

Japan's career of conquest southward has had little permanent effect on the conquered countries and very few Japanese have settled in South-East Asia. The migration of Chinese, on the other hand, has been a movement comparable in scale and with that of Europeans to the United States. Today the Chinese in Malaya, Thailand, Siam, Burma and Indonesia number over 7,000,000, and of these the largest and most important group are settled in Malaya. Curiously enough, although the first settlements of Chinese in the Indies took place as long ago as the 17th century, their emigration from China was forbidden by Imperial edict from the 17th to the



Best photographs by Hanser Bruzel, from Camera Press



(Above, left) *The art of lacquering was a gift from China to Japan at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. The painstaking thoroughness which it demands is also the chief secret of success (right) in assembling electronic instruments: precision work congenial to deft Japanese fingers*

19th century. By then they had built up a strong position in the region as traders and middlemen; but their settlement in large numbers did not begin until the European powers encouraged the movement of Chinese labour to their colonies.

There are now as many Chinese in Malaya as there are Malays; and the two communities are going to have no easy task in building the new self-governing nation to which both are committed. In the Federation of Malaya there are about 2,900,000 Malays and some 2,200,000 Chinese; while in the administratively separate colony of Singapore there are 900,000 Chinese and only 145,000 Malays. The Malays are mainly farmers, the Chinese were almost all until recently either townsmen or tin-miners or, to a less extent, rubber-planters. Thus the Chinese have had little effect on local agriculture and, since they congregate together, little cultural influence on those who already inhabited the country. World War II, however, led to a great change in the lives of many Chinese hitherto employed in the mines or on plantations in the

Federation, who moved out to the edge of the jungle which covers four-fifths of the Malayan peninsula and engaged as squatters in subsistence agriculture. There they were in contact with the anti-Japanese jungle guerillas—nearly all Chinese—who were armed and encouraged by the British. After the war these turned Communist and compelled the squatters into alliance. As a major step in the campaign against the Communists the government has moved more than 600,000 such squatters into 550 "New Villages", where they enjoy not only a new status as citizens and landholders but also an improvement in economic and social conditions, through the provision of roads, markets, community centres, clinics and schools, which makes these villages important growing-points in the development of a Malayan nation.

The Malay half of the coming nation, as has been said, are mainly farmers; they produce nearly all the rice that is grown in Malaya (though this represents only one-third of the country's needs). Loyal to the Sultans of the nine States composing the

Unlike the stay-at-home Japanese, the Chinese have migrated in large numbers to other countries, notably to South-East Asia, where by industry and thrift they have established many successful communities. Old Chinese customs, especially in family affairs, are carefully preserved by the emigrants; among whom, as this scene at Kuching in Borneo shows, the Chinese theatre flourishes

Hedda Morrison





Both photographs by Douglas Pike



A large number of Chinese in Malaya who had settled along the edges of the jungle during the Japanese occupation, became suppliers of food and information to Communist gunmen. (Above) Bukit Tinggi, one of the 550 "New Villages" into which since 1950 the government has brought together over 600,000 such squatters. Here they are able to defend themselves against Communist coercion by means of (left) well-organized Home Guard units working with the police.



Ian Morrison

A favourite Malay pastime is called silat, a stylized dance derived from fencing with daggers, but now consisting of a series of elaborate, traditional and very carefully prescribed postures

Federation, they delight in colour and in traditional ceremonies and pastimes. The Moslem festivals are special occasions for these; and the Malays of the coast and the many rivers, who use sailing canoes for fishing, have developed to a very high degree the racing qualities of their vessels, which they then display. Their Moslem religion unites the Malays to a large majority of the inhabitants of Indonesia, with whom they also share a common cultural heritage. Islam, it is strange to note, which slashed its military way to the Atlantic in the 7th century A.D., did not reach the East Indies till the 13th, nor spread far there till the 15th, century. Arab and Gujerati merchantmen, engaged in

the spice trade with mediaeval Europe, brought their religion with them to the Indonesian islands, hitherto a cultural preserve of successive waves of colonists from southern India and Ceylon.

This colonial movement, extending over many centuries, was one-way for a simple geographical reason: while for six months of the year there are winds driving from the Indian coast towards the Malay peninsula, at no time of the year does a wind blow regularly from the opposite direction across the Bay of Bengal. The ships that brought the colonists, keelless and with outriggers, could not sail to windward; so while they could easily reach Indonesia, they could not get back.

In the heyday of Buddhism in India, Sumatra and Java became great seats of Buddhist learning; when India reverted to Hinduism, Buddhist culture in Indonesia declined. But despite the subsequent dominance of Islam, Hindu customs and practices still continue in the mythology and art of the Indonesians today; old faiths survive in the interiors of the islands; and Bali clings firmly to its heritage of Hindu tradition. There the Hindu gods—Shiva, Vishnu, Indra—are worshipped and stories from the Hindu epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, furnish themes for dances, plays and other forms of artistic representation.

Art in Bali is alive and anonymous, the communal expression of ordinary people who toil in the rice-fields and pursue their art in their spare time. Artistic activities, like all others, centre on the village community and form part of the balance of a life adapted to the balance and rhythm of Nature. For not only temple feasts, but also the ploughing and planting of rice-fields, are determined in accordance with calculations made by the priests who interpret the calendar. These traditional ordinances, the communally drawn-up rules for watering the rice-fields,

and the pattern of the fields themselves—skillfully terraced so that tropical rains shall replenish and not tear away the soil from which man has removed its natural covering of vegetation—are all intimately linked with the ideal of balance in spiritual and physical life, as well as in art.

Burma, Thailand (Siam) and Indo-China, like Indonesia, were formerly Indian colonies; retaining their Buddhist religion for complicated reasons but partly because, when later influences intruded, they were comparatively speaking backwaters. Here, too, the dramatic legends of the Hindu epics provide the subjects of classical dancing and Indian tradition much of its style. Between the two great mother-cultures of Asia, the Indian and Chinese, there is a very ancient rivalry in South-East Asia; and it seems highly probable that, in the future, this will be renewed.

The three above-mentioned countries—Burma, Thailand and Indo-China—have another characteristic in common: they export rice; and a pattern of trade based on their rice exports became traditional in South-East Asia. During World War II this pattern was broken up; rice-importing countries under Japanese occupation, such as Malaya,

A Malay racing canoe (koleh) overhauling two International "Dragon" class yachts in the New Year sea sports in Singapore harbour. The helmsman steers with a long paddle and the main job of the large crew is to keep the koleh's hull balanced on an even keel by leaning to windward

van Pelt

Kodachrome





Ektachrome

Ian Morrison

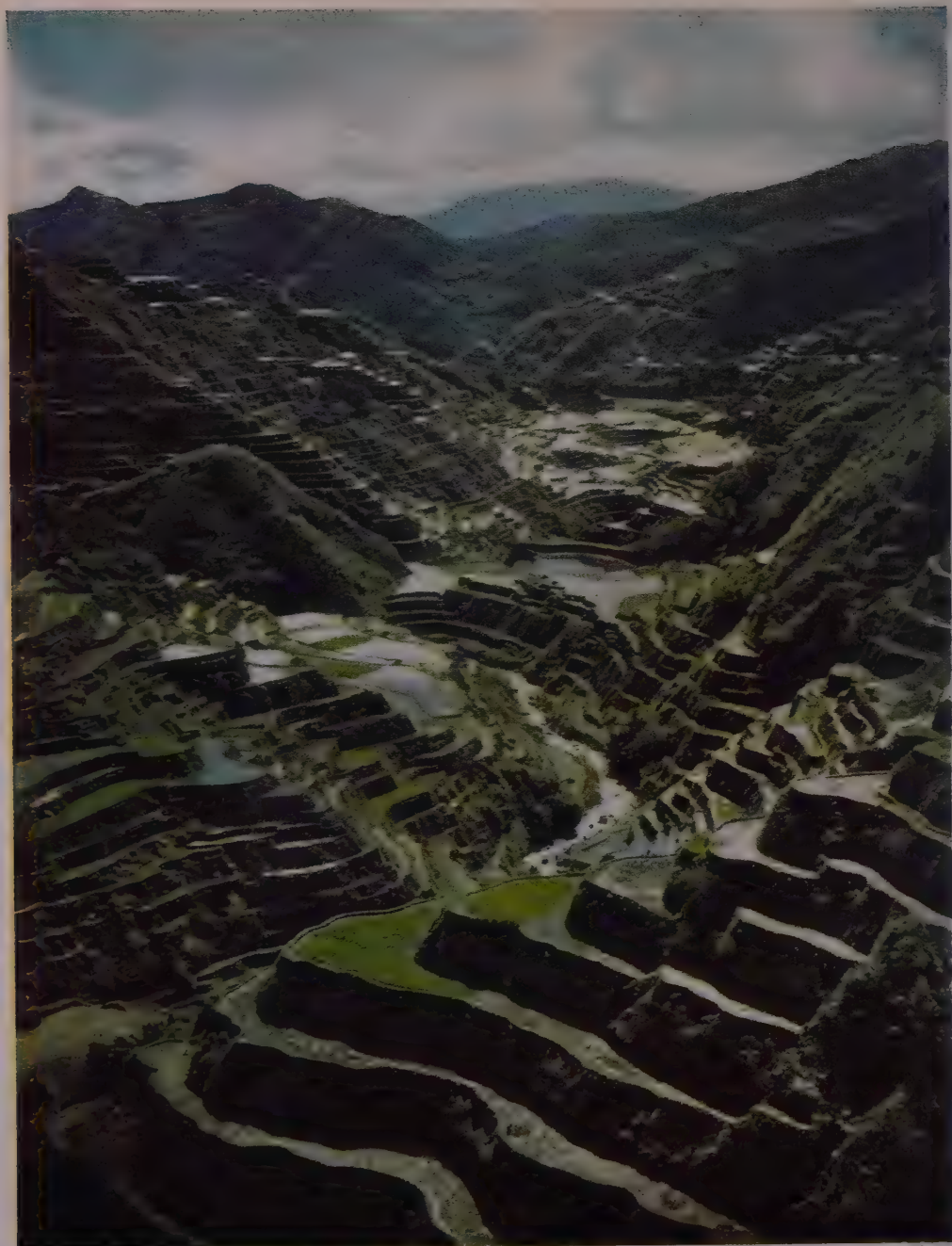
South-East Asia was colonized continuously from India for some fourteen centuries and the influence of Indian cultural tradition remains strong in Burma, Thailand and Indo-China. In Thailand (Siam), for example, the art of dancing preserves legends and heroic stories originating in India. (Left) Akom, a famous exponent of traditional Siamese dancing, in the role of P'ra Naray who assumed the form of a beautiful girl in order to subdue a wily and mischievous demon

Rice is not only the staple food of Eastern Asia: it also has religious significance. As a symbol of fertility, religious rites and social customs are associated with it in all stages of its cultivation; and this, therefore, forms a veritable way of life, interference with which, by the introduction of modern methods, may seem almost equal to interference with the cultivator's religion. Rice plants are first grown in carefully tended seed-beds, being later transplanted to the paddy-fields by hand. (Right) Planting-out in Bali



Ektachrome

Horace Bristol



Mary Lubinski

Kodachrome

The people of the Philippines were converted by the Spaniards to Christianity except in the south, where Islam prevailed and resisted, and in some difficult mountain areas where such remote tribes as the Ifugaos clung to their 'pagan' animistic beliefs. (Above) Terraces for growing rice, built by the primitive but skilful Ifugaos in the mountains of Luzon. Water for irrigation is supplied to these rock-walled terraces through bamboo pipes

were forced to supplement what little rice they had by adopting a diet of tapioca and other inadequate substitutes; rice-eaters in Ceylon and India, cut off from their normal source of supply, had to accept the, to them, unpalatable rice from Egypt and Brazil, or even wheat flour which they did not know how to cook. The post-war situation was complicated by a great decrease in most of the rice-growing countries' production; by disturbed political and economic conditions; and more recently by an unprecedented demand from Japan, which before the war drew almost the whole of her rice imports from Korea and Formosa but now draws nearly half from Burma, Thailand and Indo-China. International cooperation, promoted chiefly by the British and United States Governments, has mitigated the consequent difficulties; but the facts remain that by far the largest part of the world's rice is both produced and consumed in Eastern Asia, where rice alone forms 90 per cent of the complete diet of many millions of rice-eaters; and that while the population of the rice-eating countries has increased by more than 100,000,000 in the last ten years, production has not nearly

kept pace with this increase.

Rice is mainly a peasants' crop: every seedling is planted and every grain harvested by hand. Although production can be increased by the use of fertilizers and in other ways, the methods of large-scale mechanization cannot be applied. So long as men breed without restraint, the balance between demand and supply will remain precarious and circumstances may arise in which governments will be powerless to avert the spread of famine conditions. This, rather than the battle of ideologies, may prove to be the crucial problem of our time in Eastern Asia.

Rice is also the staple food-crop of the Philippines, which are racially a northern extension of Indonesia: all the languages spoken there before the Spanish conquest belong to the Indonesian family. But culturally the islands have a unique position as the only Asiatic territory where European colonization in modern times has resulted in the mass conversion of a large native population to Christianity. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Philippines became virtually an extension of Spanish Mexico, with a similar way of life. When Spain's American colonies revolted and

Ramon Magsaysay coming out of church after attending service at the time of his election as President of the Philippine Republic. Christianity has given the Filipinos special links with the West, and with America in particular, that are not shared by any other people of Eastern Asia

Horace Bristol, from Camera Press





Prison, by courtesy of the Sarawak Museum

Among the Dayaks of Borneo the pattern of social relations is set by the long-house, "a whole village under one continuous roof", in which privacy for the individual is reduced to a minimum

gained their independence early in the 19th century, this close connection with Latin America was broken; so that the annexation of the Philippines by the United States in 1898 can almost be regarded as a restoration to the orbit of the Western Hemisphere. In 1946 the Philippine Republic attained full independence and took its place as a member of the United Nations: geographically linked with Asia, but joined by many ties to lands across the Pacific.

To the south-west of the Philippines lies the great island of Borneo, three times the size of Britain, rich in minerals, clothed in luxuriant vegetation, yet still sparsely populated and comparatively little exploited. Numerically the most important of its inhabitants are the Dayaks, by race and language akin to the Malays but greatly attached to their own traditions and way of life.

The Dayak's traditional weapon is the blow-pipe for poisoned arrows, a six-foot hardwood tube with which he can hit a small bird at forty yards. In World War II a British officer parachuted into northern Borneo to organize guerrillas against the Japanese found that his Dayak comrades-in-arms, the Kelabits, were quite capable of handling and maintaining a

light machine-gun, but preferred their own silent and deadly weapon as a means of demoralizing Japanese sentries. Intrinsic to the Dayak way of life is the long-house, a whole village under one continuous roof, perhaps 300 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 30 feet high. Among the Kelabits this dwelling is partitioned only by one long central wall: all the families in it live, cook and sleep unseparated by walls from their neighbours. This utter lack of privacy fosters extremes of character between which a balance is struck; on the one hand comradeship and cooperation, on the other what Western people might regard as excessive demonstrations of individual temperament. Communal pride and individual taste are both satisfied by the collections of Chinese dragon-jars which adorn the long-house from end to end and serve for brewing rice-beer. These—many of them Ming and some even thousand-year-old T'ang—have for centuries been brought on the backs of porters several weeks' journey from the coast, over 5000-foot passes, to delight the Kelabit art-connoisseurs, as critical as any in Bond Street.

The widely spaced islands of the vast Pacific remained unvisited by man until late in



By courtesy of the High Commissioner for New Zealand

The Polynesians—as here in Samoa—still organize their feasting on a basis of the foodstuffs which they carried with them on their long sea-voyages, especially the pig and the breadfruit

the world's history, but from the 10th to the 14th century A.D. were actively colonized by the Polynesians, who found their way eastwards from island to island in sixty-foot double canoes, taking with them a rich supply of food-plants and three domestic animals, the pig, the dog and the fowl, with which to stock their new homes. Their legends abound in tales of warfare; and defeat in war was probably a prime motive for migration, conflict being caused or accompanied by a growth of population exceeding available food-supplies. These were especially poor on coral atolls; and it was therefore the groups of volcanic islands—Samoa, Tahiti, Hawaii, the Marquesas—that became the chief centres of population and colonization. Except for the last-named group, the volcanic islands were by-passed or barely sighted by the Spanish and Dutch explorers of the 16th and 17th centuries; it was not till the second half of the 18th century that Bougainville and Cook observed with admiration the harmony established there by the Polynesians with their environment, assuming a Garden of Eden where the human contribution had in fact been great. The greatest individual contribution was perhaps made by the unknown Poly-

nesian voyager who brought back from South America that valuable food-plant the sweet potato, its Polynesian name *kumara* being derived from its similar name in a dialect of northern Peru. If, as seems probable, he set out from the Marquesas, he voyaged 4000 miles over the open ocean in each direction—unless, of course, the plant was part of the cargo of some earlier *Kon-Tiki* raft, on a westward one-way journey.

In the south-western Pacific the Polynesians met and conducted exchanges with the Melanesians, less venturesome sailors whose eastern outpost was the Fijian group, to which extended from New Guinea a chain of volcanic islands within easy voyaging distance of each other. In the Lau Islands on the eastern fringe of the archipelago a fusion of blood and culture has occurred; elsewhere the Fijians have maintained their racial and cultural integrity. They remain great warriors, with an outstanding record of achievement in the jungle warfare of the South Pacific in World War II, though now their devotion to Christianity, together with their system of communal living which is the admiration of beholders, has obscured the memory of the cannibal practices prevalent barely eighty



By courtesy of the U.S.S.I.S.

A pineapple-canning factory in Hawaii, where nine-tenths of the world's pineapple crop is produced. Over half the population of Hawaii is now of Japanese or Chinese descent; barely a quarter derives from the old Polynesian settlers

years ago when Fiji was annexed to the realms of Queen Victoria.

Closely related to the Fijians are the coastal peoples of New Guinea; but in the jungle-covered, mountainous interior the population is of more primitive stock, living—save perhaps as regards its agriculture, which is remarkably efficient—at the simple level of our own Stone-Age ancestors. Tucked away in their highland valleys, the villages or village groups are in a state of incessant warfare, peaceful intercourse between them being almost unknown. In their isolation, each of the groups has developed its own tongue: over four hundred different languages are said to be spoken among them. One of the rare objects of inter-tribal barter is a type of large, decorative stone axe used for ceremonial purposes, in the raw material and manufacture of which a single tribe has the monopoly. Although travel for the local inhabitants is so

dangerous as to be virtually impossible, white administrative officers and survey parties have recently penetrated into the highlands with increasing frequency; and a part of humanity whose very existence was unsuspected a generation ago is thus becoming linked with the outside world.

The state of mankind in the highlands of New Guinea may be taken as an object-lesson to the rest of us: there indeed we may see the *reductio ad absurdum* of self-determination, of loyalty to the small group and freedom from larger control. In the eastern half of New Guinea, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia is now responsible for inducing the highlanders to dwell at peace with one another and for enabling them to become members of a wider community.

One of the boldest Polynesian ventures was the colonization of New Zealand. The colonists came over a long period of time from various islands in Central Polynesia, notably in the 14th century from the Tahitian group (Society Islands), about 2500 miles away. Some of their accustomed food-plants—the coconut, breadfruit and banana—would not grow in the colder climate of New Zealand and somehow they failed to import the pig and the fowl.

These, indeed, seem not to have reached New Zealand until Captain Cook gave them, with seeds, to the Maoris in the hope of promoting friendly relations. In general, however, the natural resources of New Zealand were far more abundant than those of lesser Pacific islands; and the Maoris made remarkably skilful use of them within the limits of their social organization. This, consisting of many warring tribes, fostered a vigorous and intelligent race, whose least pleasant characteristic was that (as Cook noted) they ate their enemies slain in battle.

When British settlers reached New Zealand in increasing numbers from 1840 onwards, hostility grew between them and their Polynesian precursors, almost entirely in connection with the acquisition of land by the white settlers, and culminated in the "Maori wars": intermittent fighting which lasted from 1861 to 1871. Mutual respect engen-



Keesenma

Tolson

(Above) Fijian villagers assemble for a dance, the men with their spears, the women in tapa-bark costumes made from the bark of a tree. The dance may act out a legend of their far-off origins. (Below) Admiring a stone axe, a rare object of inter-tribal barter in the highlands of New Guinea.





A, Building of the South Island, New Zealand



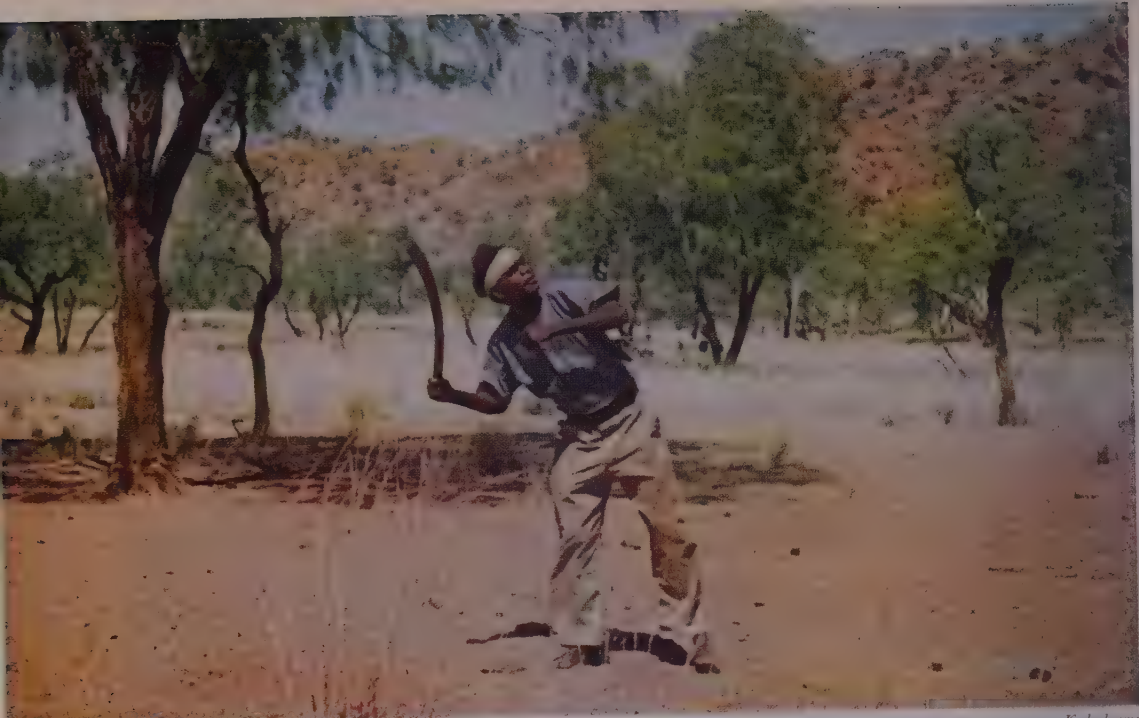
B, Dancing of the Maori, New Zealand



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(Opposite, top) An accommodation hut in the New Zealand Alps, the training-ground of the first man to reach the summit of Mount Everest. (Bottom) New Zealand's earliest settlers, the Maoris, still retain a strong tribal sense and seize on any appropriate occasion to dance and sing in the manner of their Polynesian ancestors

(Above) Tasmania, rather smaller than Scotland, lies nearer the South Pole than continental Australia and climatically more resembles New Zealand. The Derwent Valley, about the latitude of Marseilles in the northern hemisphere, has apple orchards that might be in Kent were the climate less sunny and the background tamer



D. B. Lang

Kodachrome

(Above) In north-western Australia, where cattle 'stations' are measured by the million acres, the aborigines provide a much-needed labour force. (Below) Australian industry is no longer an infant: witness the scale of the briquette factory at Yallourn, processing brown-coal from vast local deposits

B.I.P.S.

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dered by this long struggle may well have helped to cement the firm friendship which now unites the Maoris with their fellow-New Zealanders. Outnumbered by fifteen to one and increasingly Europeanized, they hold to their old culture in parts of the North Island where they are most numerous.

In the early years of British colonization separate communities coming from different parts of the United Kingdom were established in the two main islands. Their local loyalties have, with the passage of years, been absorbed in a New Zealand national loyalty; but this development has not materially changed the character of the principal early settlements. In a new land the first provincial roots—very English in New Plymouth or Canterbury, very Scottish in Otago—make a firm stock on which to graft fresh immigration. New Zealanders pride themselves with justice on many achievements in social matters: perhaps their best-justified and most remarkable claim, for a nation of little more than 2,000,000 people, is that during the last fifty years a New Zealander has found his way to the forefront in practically every field of human endeavour.

Australia, too, has given men of high quality to the world at large; but there the land extended few such smiling invitations to European settlement as it did in New Zealand. Even in the south-east that very ancient, never cultivated country resisted intrusion. As a distinguished Australian, writing in *The Geographical Magazine*, put it: "The climate and the soil . . . fought back, as it were, and visited terrible disasters on the intruders". Drought, floods, bush fires, plagues of locusts—all these had to be faced before man and beast could come to terms with the vast, alien landscape. Small wonder that the greater part of Australia's 9,000,000 population is congregated in half-a-dozen of her cities, two of which have well over a million inhabitants apiece. These cities are scattered round half the coastline of a continent as large as the United States; ports on an ocean of land where, to quote the same writer, "you can drive for days on end (carry-



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More than half Australia's people live in her six largest cities. Adelaide, with its far-spreading suburbs, shows how Australians answer the challenge of their environment

ing extra petrol tanks and water) and see nothing but the empty plain endlessly repeated". What the future of that land may be, few prophets would be rash enough to foretell. One thing is certain: the huge spaces of Australia will not be tamed for human settlement without an expenditure of capital and effort which can only be undertaken by men who command the resources of industrial civilization at a high level. That level the Australians of today, with the pioneer stage behind them, have undoubtedly attained.

From Perth, the capital of Western Australia, to Cape Town is more than half as far again as from London to New York—so wide are the wastes of the Southern Ocean—and Africa is divided much further in thought and circumstance from Australia than America is from Europe. Europeans began to settle in Southern Africa 200 years before they reached



The Glenroy abattoir in the remote Australian North-West represents the first experiment in killing and chilling cattle on a station and transporting the carcasses down to the coast by aircraft.

Australia: they found there no human void but a welter of races and languages: Banru, Hottentot, Bushman and, to the north, Nilotic or Hamitic. Before the Europeans came, Africans were engaged in continual fighting. The Europeans put an end to this and then fought each other. Now open warfare has ceased: but beneath the surface a struggle continues, involving not only Europeans and Africans but also immigrants from

Asia. One deep cause of strife is that while Africa can no more escape the influence of modern scientific and industrial techniques than any other continent, the European bringers of these explosive gifts have performed their function with little thought for the probable effect on African land and society. This has been in large measure to destroy the one and disrupt the other. African soil-scratching and shifting cultivation

did comparatively small harm, whereas soil-mining with European implements has in many areas greatly accelerated the process of exhausting the land: a result not by any means confined to Africa but there especially damaging with so many millions dependent on subsistence agriculture. Again, while the increase of those millions was formerly checked by disease, recurrent famine and mutual slaughter, modern medical science has completed the work of peace by saving innumerable lives. Finally, the European enterprise which created in Southern Africa some of the world's largest mines has beckoned to work in them the cream of the young men from hundreds of miles away, while industries are springing up which would collapse without African labour.

Some of the governments and mining companies concerned have established properly built townships where African miners can live with their wives and children: but in the Union of South Africa, especially, the ruling population of European descent (2,900,000

is divided in its views about the urbanisation of Africans and their movement is strictly controlled. Government policy there insists that industrial and domestic workers be regarded as migrants with their true home in the 'reserves' comprising some 8 per cent of the area of the Union; and although some progress is being made with rehousing, most of them live in 'shanty towns' with which few slums in the world can compete. Over half the Africans in the Union, totalling 8,500,000, live permanently outside the reserves and while various legislative devices have been built in an attempt to stem the flood, more and more are finding their way into the towns, with the active consent of those among their white fellow-citizens who value them as industrial workers or consumers. Segregation seems hardly compatible with an industrial revolution.

The African miners are in fact mainly migrants, housed by the mines in compounds with standards of accommodation, sanitation, health services and pay regulated by law.

Mining is the spearhead of the Western industrial impact on the life of South and Central Africa. Young men flock from afar to the mines; their absence disrupts society in their native villages





of the South African Mining Corporation

South African mining has forced developments strange to the spirit of the country: none stranger than Johannesburg, which strikes a discordant, American note amid the horizons of the African veld

Nearly half a million men live thus, away from the reserves to which they must return, yet they come to the mines again and again; and so do many of the African miners recruited outside the Union, in Mozambique and in British territories north of the Limpopo. Meanwhile the reserves, as well as tribal areas in countries politically separate from the magnets of urban attraction, are left to the women and children and old men; and the tribal organization becomes an empty shell.

This does not only happen within the orbit of mining recruitment. It occurs also, for example, in northern Uganda, where the attractive force is the opportunity of working on the sugar plantations (mainly owned by Indians) and cotton plantations (under African Baganda landlords) in the south of the country. There such northern tribesmen as the Lugbara earn the money to buy the bicycles or other manufactured gadgets, the household articles and trinkets, that they and their womenfolk so ardently desire. This, too, is how the customary 'bridewealth'—the price in livestock of a wife—can be most conveniently acquired; so the young men go south by hundreds, three or four times, before they finally settle down in middle age, to farm and

bring up their children at their paternal homes. Their absence upsets the delicate balance of tribal life and the indigenous society begins to disintegrate. We can no longer stop the processes of social change that follow from our impact; but we cannot shirk our responsibility for the consequences.

Across the border in Kenya a rebellion among one tribe, the Kikuyu—numbering about a fifth of the total African population—has shocked the government into revolutionary action. The rebels' main grievance, often described as "land hunger", was directed against the few thousand European farmers who had, in fact, settled almost entirely on land never occupied by the Kikuyu. Peace and improved hygiene under British rule brought overcrowding in the Kikuyu tribal areas and they were abusing the land that they had. Incompetent farming, in a country of steep hillsides and violent rainstorms, led to disastrous erosion. Under compulsion—and at no small financial cost—the countryside is being transformed by terracing at the rate of thousands of miles a year; scattered landholdings are being consolidated, excessive numbers of cattle controlled, new and valuable cash-crops such as coffee, pyrethrum



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(Above) In the shadow of Table Mountain the Dutch East India Company established in 1652 a revictualing station which was the nucleus of Cape Town and became the centre of a colony where vineyards, orchards and gabled farmhouses harmonize with a kindly landscape and sunny climate. (Right) At Luanda, some eighty years before that, the Portuguese founded their first settlement in Angola and, as was usual in their colonies, built permanently and well. The church of the Carmelites was built in 1691 and has a finely decorated doorway of carved stone, imported from Madeira



Michael Teague



Islanded in the Union of South Africa, among the 10,000-foot peaks of the Drakensberg, is the Territory of Basutoland, for which the Government of the United Kingdom is directly responsible. There are no white settlers and the policies of the administration are directed solely to improving the welfare of the 500,000 Basutos, notably in combating soil erosion due to overgrazing and bad methods of cultivation. Nearly 60,000 men are always away at work in the Union, mostly in the mines



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Above: On the Albert Nile in Uganda. The river steamer takes poor northern tribesmen to the richer south, to employment and the price of a bicycle. Below: Under compulsion, Kikuyu farmers in Kenya have terraced their land and are now reaping the benefit with pineapples and other valuable cash-crops.

John Brown

Ektachrome

John Brown





F. Spencer Chapman

Ektachrome

Nomadic Africa includes such very different people as (above) the pygmies of the Ituri Forest in the Congo and (below) the Turkanas of arid northern Kenya, whose wealth is in their flocks and herds. These are watered from wooden troughs filled at wells dug in the beds of the usually dry streams

Morden African Expedition

Kodachrome



and pineapples are being grown by Kikuyu farmers. Land-hunger among them, as well as among other tribes in Kenya, is being assuaged by compelling them to use their land properly: and the people, seeing their own good, are cooperating. We have accepted our responsibility.

Westward and northward of the Great Lakes there are Africans who still escape the touch of Western civilization: the Pygmy nomads of the Congo rain-forest and the Hamitic nomads of the huge semi-desert that extends to the highlands of Ethiopia. Like the nomads of Asia, they will call no man master. The former will serve for a time, and for recompense of barter, the African farmers of other races; then vanish into the forest. The latter are bound only by the needs of their cattle and camels, whose milk and blood they drink, for grazing in the thousands of square miles over which they wander. The range of their wanderings stretches almost to meet that of the Saharan nomads; but between flow the waters of the White Nile. That great stream, uniting Uganda with the Mediterranean, crosses at the Gezira—the “island” where the Blue Nile joins it—a much-travelled African route leading far to the west along the grassy fringe of the Sahara. It is regularly used by the Moslem pilgrims of western Africa, who for centuries have passed that way on the road to Mecca. They contribute their labour *en route* to the Gezira cotton plantations, dependent on the great Nile dams of which Britain can be justly proud.

Among these pilgrims are many from Northern Nigeria, linked thus, as well as by routes across the Sahara, with other Moslem peoples. Settled Hausa and nomad Fulani have both been Moslem since the 14th century; the former were conquered by the latter early in the 19th; both came under British rule early in the 20th; now both are afraid of domination by the Negro peoples of the South with whom that rule united them poli-



Arnette Brinkworth

A Fulani Emir. The nomad Fulani subdued the Hausa states of Northern Nigeria and displaced their old kings. When the Fulani cattle seasonally move south, grazing the farmers' stubble, their dung pays the rent by maintaining fertility

tically such a short while ago and who are most urgent in their demand for self-government. This the British are anxious to promote and an elaborate parliamentary and administrative apparatus has been built up, manned in part by Africans from top to bottom, ready to replace the officials of the British Services when the hour strikes.

Broadly speaking, a similar situation exists, with local variations, in the three other British West African territories: the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. All are headed, under British direction, towards self-government; and in the first two there are internal divisions which would make—if noth-

ing else did so—the working of parliamentary democracy, after the departure of the British, problematic. But Nigeria is so much the largest (more than four times the size of Britain; with a population of 31,000,000, five times that of the other three territories combined) and its internal divisions so much the most profound, that as a test case for the future of African government by Africans it is of primary importance. The basic division between North and South is a geographical one, extending right across West Africa, between the belt of coastal rain-forest through zones of lesser rainfall to the dry steppe that fringes the Sahara. Before European government was established, the forest belt contained hundreds of small separate political entities—over 200 on the present territory of Sierra Leone—

owning no common allegiance. Away from the coast a number of kingdoms waxed and waned: in the Gold Coast among the Ashanti; in Nigeria among the Yoruba and the Beni and especially among the Hausa. None achieved any general supremacy.

The Europeans came to trade, at first in gold and slaves—with the active assistance of the coastal peoples—and later in cocoa (introduced from Central America) ground-nuts and palm-oil. For these and other exports to reach their present enormous volume, not only had political and social life to be transformed: roads, railways and harbours had to be created. West Africans have grown rich in a short time; more and more Europeans and Americans come to help the wheels of their commerce revolve; now a steady economic

West Africans are making money with their exports of cocoa, palm-oil and ground-nuts; the world's industrial products flow back to them; if political stability lasts, so will this happy exchange

By courtesy of the Eastern Nigeria Information Service





J. Bellin

North Africa was an integral part of the Roman world; in the 7th century it was forced to absorb (above) Moslem civilization; in the 19th century this, after a reconquest by France, gave place to European influences, especially in such cities as (below) Algiers; now the two are again in conflict

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advance, with the investment of increasing amounts of capital, has become essential to West Africans themselves. Without security and stability that capital will not be invested. Will self-government provide them?

Africans are, of course, governed by Africans elsewhere: in Liberia, in Ethiopia, in the Sudan. But, except perhaps for the third, none of these is a test case, in the sense that Nigeria is, for the ability of Africans to combine loyalty to their own particular traditions with practical recognition of the large necessity to sink their differences. It is the British who are putting Africans to this test; none of the other European Powers with responsibilities in Africa—neither the French nor the Belgians nor the Portuguese—has embarked on such a course. They put Africans to other tests: the French expect Africans to become Frenchmen and, when they do, treat them as such: witness the late M. Félix Éboué, a Negro who became Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa.

Africa north of the Sahara is a Mediterranean land, not really part of Africa proper. Its deepest cultural links have been with the Middle East since the 7th century, when it ceased to be part of Europe and became a westward extension of the Moslem world. Egypt, having occupied for a long time a subordinate position in that world, has attained a very different status with the growth of her population and wealth since the British undertook to direct her troubled affairs in the 1880s. For some forty years their direction was effective; irrigation works and the second place among cotton-exporting countries are its legacies to Egypt. Now she aspires to leadership of the Arab League and radio broadcasts from Cairo have incited nationalists to revolt against French rule in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The role of *provocateur* is an easy one to play; nevertheless Egypt, dependent on one crop and on widely scattered markets for her prosperity, has a paramount interest in the maintenance of stable economic conditions which political disruption will not serve.

The French investment of men, lives and money in North Africa for the past hundred years has been on a scale sufficient to transform its life and to bring its peoples into close contact with the world community. In Algeria the European population amounts to 1,230,000 out of a total of 9,500,000. Eighty per cent of French Algerians were born in the country; they have brought new wealth and new horizons to their Berbero-Arab fellow-citizens, who can—and do—sit as deputies in

the French Parliament. The independence of Morocco and Tunisia has now been recognized by the French Government; if in Algeria a new and harmonious synthesis between the races could be attained, it would point the way for many another country with similar problems where the nursing of ancient grudges can lead only to mutual destruction.

* * * * *

In the course of our journey round the world we have seen a little (and that superficially) of the diversity of people in places: a diversity so vast that a hundred Geographical Magazines in a thousand years could not tell it all. Besides, in a few years the relationships between them—between people and particular places as well as between people in different places—will have changed, as they have always done. Of those relationships in 1956 we can perhaps say that the response of people to the demands of place has never been more passionately loyal: in the form of nationalism it is one of the two chief disintegrating factors of our age. Political empires are out of fashion; the Communist ones are camouflaged, the rest are dead or dying. Yet at the same time there has never been a greater need for integration on a world scale, to match the universal forces unleashed by Western man and now affecting all his fellows. These—the techniques of science and industry—are also a disintegrating factor, insofar as they tend to disrupt a traditional way of life and put only personal profit in its place. But they have in them the seed of a new integration by forcing men to recognize world-wide mutual responsibility.

Thus we have to admit that all the small loyalties are valid. As Kipling wrote:

There are nine and sixty ways of constructing
tribal lays,
And—every—single—one—of—them—is—right !

Equally, we have to admit that the large necessity is inescapable. Every man and woman on earth will wish to eat of the fruit of the same tree of knowledge and will have to bear the consequences; that is to say, we shall all have to bear them. We cannot renounce responsibility and leave a vacuum to tempt the wielders of despotic power: the old empires will only come back in new forms. We cannot maintain economic empires as substitutes for political ones, since we cannot exploit others without in the long run hurting ourselves. We cannot cease to be our brother's keeper: what we can do is to help him to live more fully, as a person, in his own place.